

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 DAR ES 00393 271323Z
ACTION IO-14

INFO OCT-01 AF-10 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05
H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02
SS-15 NSCE-00 SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 ACDA-12 HA-05
/089 W

-----055749 271326Z /40

O 271240Z JAN 78

FM AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7460
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN PRIORITY
AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY GABORONE PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY HELSINKI PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY LAGOS PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY OSLO PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM PRIORITY
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L DAR ES SALAAM 0393

CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PORC, SF, WA, UN, TZ

SUBJECT: NAMIBIA: PREPARING SWAPO FOR THE PROXIMITY TALKS

REF: (A) STATE 20710, (B) 77 DAR ES SALAAM 5015 (NOTAL)

1. OUR ASSOCIATION WITH SWAPO IN DAR ES SALAAM HAS GIVEN US
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 DAR ES 00393 271323Z

NO PARTICULAR INSIGHTS INTO HOW TO DEAL MORE EFFECTIVELY WITH
SWAPO DIRECTLY. HOWEVER, THE VIEW WE HAVE DEVELOPED INCLINES
US TO BE PESSIMISTIC ABOUT SWAPO'S CAPACITY TO DEAL EFFECTIVELY
WITH THE OPPORTUNITY OFFERED BY THE CONTACT GROUP'S PROPOSALS.
WE CONCUR WITH EMBASSY CAPETOWN (CAPE TOWN 115) THAT SWAPO IS
NOT WILLING TO STAKE ITS FUTURE ON ELECTORAL PROCESSES IT DOES NOT
CONTROL. PERHAPS THE CONCERN ABOUT CONTROLLING ELECTIONS RESTS

MORE PRECISELY WITH NUJOMA AND HIS CLOSEST ADVISORS. SWAPO MIGHT WELL WIN FREE ELECTIONS, BUT WHO WOULD END UP IN CONTROL OF SWAPO? THE CONTACT GROUP PROPOSALS WOULD BRING OUT OF THE WOODWORK ALL KINDS OF SERIOUS OPPONENTS WITH WHOM NUJOMA HAS NOT HAD TO CONTEND FOR YEARS. THIS MUST MAKE THE ELECTORAL ROUTE LOOK VERY UNPALATABLE TO HIM.

2. WE DOUBT THAT NUJOMA'S CONCERNS ABOUT SPECIFICS IN THE PROPOSALS CAN BE EASED. WE SUSPECT THAT THE CONCERNS RAISED BY SWAPO TO DATE, WHICH WHILE PERHAPS LEGITIMATE CAUSES FOR WORRY, ARE LARGELY INTENDED TO DELAY THE TIME FOR DECISION. IN HIS PRESENT FRAME OF MIND, NUJOMA IS JUST AS LIKELY TO BE UNRECEPTIVE TO A TAKE IT OR LEAVE IT APPROACH. NUJOMA DID NOT ASK THE WEST TO INTERCEDE ON HIS BEHALF AND IS AT BEST SUSPICIOUS OF THE INITIATIVE. SWAPO'S LEADERS, FROM THEIR POINT OF VIEW, HAVE BEEN COOPERATIVE BUT TO THEM THE CONTACT GROUP PROPOSALS ARE ONLY ONE OPTION. IF CG PROPOSALS DON'T MEET THEIR REQUIREMENTS, THEY CAN CARRY ON THE FIGHT UNTIL SOMETHING BETTER COMES ALONG.

3. NO ONE IN THIS EPISODE, ESPECIALLY THE TANZANIANS, SEEMS TO GIVE NUJOMA MUCH CREDIT FOR GOOD LEADERSHIP. NYERERE, HOWEVER, WON'T PUSH HIM ON SPECIFICS. HE TELLS NUJOMA TO GET OUT THERE AND NEGOTIATE WHAT IS BEST FOR THE PEOPLE OF NAMIBIA BUT HE WON'T TELL HIM WHAT HE SHOULD OR SHOULD NOT SETTLE FOR. A LEADER, IN NYERERE'S VIEW, MUST MAKE HIS OWN WAY. NYERERE ANYHOW HAS PROBABLY VERY LITTLE REAL LEVERAGE WITH SWAPO, AND HAS PROBABLY CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 DAR ES 00393 271323Z

ALREADY DONE WHAT HE CAN. SWAPO WOULD SEEM TO BE GRAVITATING TOWARDS LUANDA, WHERE ITS EXTREMISTS APPARENTLY HAVE TAKEN ROOT. THE ONLY LEVERAGE LEFT TO NYERERE IS ANDREAS SHIPANGA AND HIS FEW FELLOW DETAINEES AND IT SEEMS UNLIKELY THEIR MANIPULATION COULD BE DECISIVE, EVEN IF NYERERE WERE PREPARED TO TRY. (REFTEL B EXPANDS OUR THINKING ON TANZANIAN PRESSURE ON SWAPO.)

4. WE THINK THERE IS MERIT IN TRYING TO GET SWAPO LEADERS TO TALK MORE AMONG THEMSELVES ABOUT THE CRUCIAL NATURE OF THE FEBRUARY PROXIMITY TALKS. EVEN SWAPO'S MEN IN DAR ES SALAAM, WHO ARE OFTEN IN THE DARK ON SWAPO ACTIVITIES, SENSE HOW CRUCIALLY IMPORTANT THOSE TALKS ARE (BUT, WE NOTE, APPEAR TO ACCEPT THAT AN "INTERNAL SOLUTION" WILL OCCUR). AS WE SEE IT, THE ONLY VALUABLE PRESSURE THAT CAN MOVE SWAPO MUST COME FROM WITHIN. THUS, WE THINK THE CONTACT GROUP PROPOSALS SHOULD BE CIRCULATED WIDELY AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. POSSIBLY A CONSTRUCTIVE DEBATE, WITHIN SWAPO CAN BE STIMULATED.

5. ONE OTHER THOUGHT. IF WE UNDERSTAND CORRECTLY THAT IT IS NETO'S VIEW THAT HE REQUIRES IMMEDIATELY AN INTERNATIONALLY

ACCEPTABLE SETTLEMENT FOR NAMIBIA, COULD NOT SOMEONE (THE
FRENCH) SEEK NETO'S AID IN PUTTING THE SQUEEZE ON NUJOMA?
WALKER

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 jan 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: BRIEFING MATERIALS, NEGOTIATIONS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 27 jan 1978
Decaption Date: 01 jan 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 20 Mar 2014
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978DARES00393
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D780040-1066
Format: TEL
From: DAR ES SALAAM
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t19780115/aaaaampd.tel
Line Count: 119
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 65b470df-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION IO
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 78 STATE 20710, 77 DAR ES SALAAM 5015
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 12 apr 2005
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 3703235
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: NAMIBIA: PREPARING SWAPO FOR THE PROXIMITY TALKS
TAGS: PORG, SF, WA, TZ, UN, SWAPO
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odhc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/65b470df-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Sheryl P. Walter
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
20 Mar 2014
Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014